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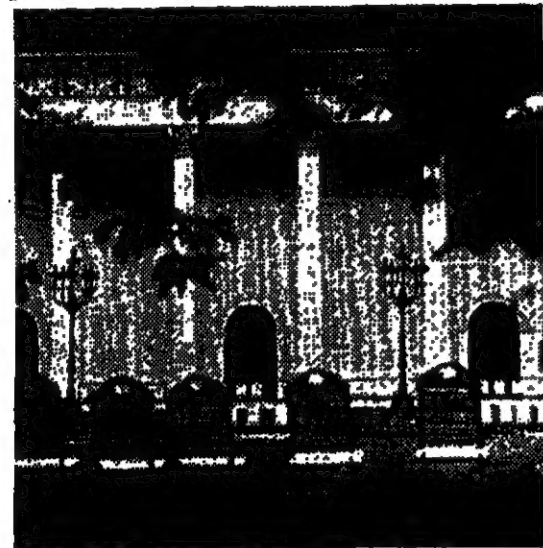
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The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 30 December 1971
Tenth Year - No. 507 - By air

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Europe edges a little closer to political union

From the North Cape to Sicily the countries of Europe will go their own way. This statement is no longer a bold essay and developments are no longer reluctant of derring-do; but nor, for that matter, can progress be reversed or retarded.

The disputes that recently arose in the course of the entry talks between the six Common Market countries and Britain, Norway, Denmark and Ireland are of minor importance when one recalls that the powerful European countries have

resolved to run their economies in series and to hold meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Ten twice a year in one or other of the member-countries in order to pave the way for political union.

The recent Brussels meetings of the North Atlantic Council proved that the countries of Europe are also capable of close cooperation in the military sector, sharing essential burdens, though not, perhaps, equally.

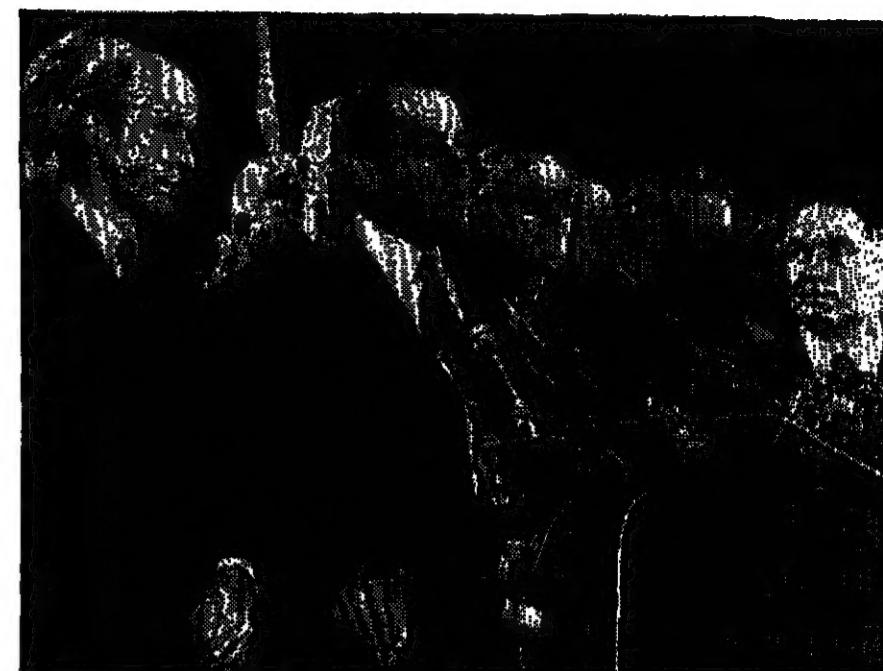
Not a politician exists who could afford to destroy this united Europe in the making. Political parties and young people in particular have committed themselves to the cause of European integration.

The difficulties to be encountered in the process of integration were foreseeable. Languages, customs, climates, culture, temperaments, mentalities and histories differ and form divisive factors that will need to be integrated with the future in mind.

Total uniformity will, of course, never be achieved but there is no intention of taking matters this far in a united Europe.

The extent to which the economies of EEC countries are already interlinked became apparent during the recent strike of metalworkers in this country. When supplies from the Federal Republic ground to a halt any number of factories in Belgium were forced to close their doors.

The white hope for the stability of European industry lies in the establishment of an economic and monetary



Currency crisis solution

Finance and Economic Affairs Minister Karl Schiller (right) attended a conference of the Group of Ten Finance Ministers to discuss the international currency crisis. The Ministers agreed on new parity rates and President Nixon announced that the American government would lift the ten per cent surcharge on imports which, if continued, would have hit West German exporters badly. (Photos dpa)

union with fixed rates of exchange or even one currency.

This, of course, presupposes a reform of the international monetary system and the negotiation with the United States of a return to free world trade.

The European economic and monetary union, a tender plant, is to come into being in the course of the current decade.

Helmut J. Wieland
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 17 December 1971)

Mid-East situation hardens

Increased obduracy in the diplomatic trench warfare of the Middle East and further isolation of Israel at the United Nations are the main outcome of this year's Middle East debate in the UN General Assembly.

The mediation mission of UN special envoy Gunnar Jarring has been at a standstill since February because the two sides are unable to agree procedural details for the resumption of talks.

American efforts to secure a partial solution of the problem in respect of the Suez Canal seem to have ground to a final halt. Tangible attempts to reactivate them have certainly not been undertaken.

The further progress of the mediation proposals made by the African mission headed by President Senghor of Senegal remains uncertain now that the majority resolution in the UN General Assembly has welcomed M. Senghor's efforts rather than his proposals.

A fourth prospect, the underwriting of peace in the Middle East by the UN Security Council, would seem to be wishful thinking.

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban noted in New York that the inability of the Security Council to come to a decision in the Indo-Pakistani conflict was a clear enough indication of how ineffective a guarantee of peace by the Security Council would be.

The General Assembly resolution may not express the obligation on Israel to withdraw its troops from the occupied territories in terms of a unilateral prior move, as the Arab countries had wished, but it is based on the assumption that some such assurance to Dr Jarring must form part of the reactivation of the UN mission.

Gerhard Menning
(Köln Nachrichten, 17 December 1971)

Nixon and Pompidou in the Azores

Progress was evidently achieved on controversial monetary matters at the summit meeting between Presidents Nixon and Pompidou in the Azores. At all events the two sides are now better also to appreciate each other's arguments.

It may even be that the obstacles in the way of a reflexing of parities have been cleared. At their Washington meeting the Finance Ministers of the Group of Ten ought to be able to come closer to agreement.

Yet even observers in Paris are doubtful as to whether the Azores meeting represents a contribution towards a lasting solution of the monetary crisis.

Even though the two Presidents have come closer to agreement in their assessment of the monetary dangers and proved to hold similar long-term views on the

further development of relations between Western Europe and the United States the conflict of interests between France and the USA remains.

The French insistence that the international monetary system be restored to a firm footing as soon as possible, a view shared by many monetary experts, continues to meet with American resistance, even though US resistance may have been toned down.

American insistence and probably for more than mere tactical reasons, on trading concessions by Europe, greater access to the Common Market and above a reduction in the protective effect of the common agricultural policy.

France and its partners in Europe envisage a danger of the United States thus gaining a right of veto on further extension of the European Communities. Paris remains mistrustful of the assurances given by Secretary of State Rogers in the Azores.

Even if exchange rates are realigned in the months to come, as is expected, it remains to be seen whether they will stand up to fresh waves of speculation.

After the trough of low pressure of recent months the Azores summit can at best be said to have given rise to a moderate ridge of high pressure.

Hans Bartsch
(Köln Nachrichten, 15 December 1971)

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Third World's dependence on industrialised nations

The industrialised and developing countries are heading for a collision. The causes of renewed tension are the international monetary crisis, America's import surcharge and last but not least Washington's abrupt change of heart on development aid.

The ten-per-cent import surcharge has robbed President Nixon's own development formula of aid through trade of credibility and the entire concept of development aid, originally brought into being by the Americans, is once more under review.

The US Senate having drastically cut back foreign aid allocations, the Nixon administration is unable to work on other than a pro tem basis.

The Senate, it is alleged, intended their move as a counter to the anti-American stand taken by Third World countries in the United Nations debate on China.

Whatever may be the short-term reaction or long-term disappointment that prompted the decision, its repercussions on other donor countries have been far from gratifying. The response of Third World countries affected, however, has been disastrous.

Spokesmen for the developing "two thirds of the world" have elected to reply with a deluge of statistics about the enormous profits made out of the developing countries.

Rich countries in both East and West, it is argued, have never done more than pay

Tito has trouble in Croatia

Last July Josip Broz Tito, who will soon be eighty, was elected President of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia for a further five years.

Doubtful though it may be whether Tito will last the distance physically, there can be no doubt that Tito and only Tito is in a position to cope with the political problems facing the country.

The current problems are no less formidable than those facing the country twenty years ago when Tito snatched Yugoslav independence from Stalin and set out on his own road to Socialism.

Yugoslav unity and Tito's version of Socialism are now threatened primarily, and more seriously than ever, from within and not from Moscow.

Separatist tendencies in Croatia, which have assumed alarming proportions, prove that in Yugoslavia, a country of many peoples, Communism with a human face has failed to deal with narrow, dyed-in-the-wool nationalism.

Croatian nationalism, a trend that is not far from the surface in the other five constituent republics too, has been stimulated by student protest at the "injustice" of foreign exchange earnings based mainly on the tourist trade being largely siphoned off into other parts of the country.

It has peaked in the demand for independence and membership of the United Nations and unrest has gone as far as the Party leadership in Zagreb.

One can but hope that Tito has been able to contain unrest by accepting the resignation of the highest-ranking Croatian Party officials, the Croatian problem being more than a mere matter of Tito and Yugoslavia itself.

The League of Croatian Communists abroad has, for instance, threatened in Offenbach to call on the assistance of "fraternal socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 December 1971)

Köln Stadt-Anzeiger

lip service to the principle of reducing the worldwide gap between the rich and the poor.

Nation of Bangkok recently affirmed that "the developing countries must free themselves from dependence on the benevolent moods of the superpowers."

Nigeria has complained that Western aid is made dependent on so many conditions that next to no one could feel it to be desirable. The entire Third World ought to follow China's example and set out with a will to rely on its own resources.

The extent of developing countries' indignation at the egoism of developed industrial countries was underlined at the November meeting of Ministers of the 77 Group of countries in Lima, Peru.

The name 77 Group refers to the number of countries represented at the original conference four years ago in Algiers. Little attention was paid to the latest conference in the West even though 95 developing countries were represented this time.

The Lima charter opposes the present practice whereby the rules and regulations of the international monetary system are laid down by a small group of rich countries.

Developing countries are no longer prepared to be the main victims of inflation exported by the rich and accordingly demand a say in the solution of monetary problems.

Yet the developing countries are hardly in a position effectively to defend their interests. The current of mutual interchange of goods is only slowly gaining in momentum.

As long as their economies are geared not to their own requirements but to those of the international market the backward countries will remain by and large dependent on the grace and favour of the prosperous industrial nations.

The industrialised countries lay down the prices of raw materials and semi-finished products, both declining steadily, while the prices of imported industrial products are rocketing.

This is why the developing countries' share of world trade declined from 21.3 per cent in 1960 to 17.6 per cent last year and why the trend continues.

America views European security conference cautiously

The brake applied by the Soviet Union on the initial preliminary talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces in Europe is viewed by the US government as confirmation of the opinion it has long held that preparations for the European security conference Moscow would like to see held will need to be slow and painstaking.

Washington is opposed to the proposal by France and a number of other Nato countries that the West grasp the initiative in paving the way for preparatory talks in Helsinki.

The United States is convinced that the Soviet Union intends to utilise a conference of this kind solely for the purpose of gaining confirmation of the status quo in Europe and the division of the Continent.

What is more, there is a growing feeling

At the same time the indebtedness of developing countries and thus their dependence on the industrialised world is increasing to gigantic proportions. It already amounts to little short of 250,000 million Marks.

In many cases annual repayments are higher than the country's export earnings. What mainly weighs on the Third World countries, however, are the losses sustained in trading with the industrialised nations which amount to more than development aid granted.

The Lima charter represents an all-out attack on this system of international labour distribution.

The current system is indeed outmoded. Industrial countries are for the most part headed for the second industrial era and ought at the very least to allow the developing countries to progress on a large scale towards the first industrial revolution.

A general undertaking to accord preference to goods from developing countries is not enough. The Common Market, for instance, has done a splendid job of "selling" its customs preferences in terms of propaganda but in practice the procedure has proved so long-winded and hamstrung by exceptions that the effect has been limited in the extreme.

What matters are not general declarations of intent and proud statistics of concessions that have little bearing on their success but the efficacy of aid to poor countries for the general public.

Otherwise the ultimate aim of development, a greater degree of equality, will never be achieved.

Many a cherished motive stands in the way of this aim. Western donor countries' tendency to invest regardless who stands first to benefit is, for instance, frequently extremely dubious.

And unfortunately there is a tendency in many developing countries to aim at growth regardless of the cost. Too often the fundamental problem of providing work for as many people as possible and developing regions evenly goes by the board.

For reasons of this kind, for example, American and Federal Republic firms, disregarding political aspects, have concentrated on the development of West Pakistan, putting East Pakistan at a still greater disadvantage and contributing towards the current political explosion.

Development in the full-scale meaning of the word presupposes political consideration of the internal structure of Third World countries.

This factor will determine whether or not the growing differences between industrialised and developing countries, a much-vaunted gap, will one day assume the serious proportions thinking politicians fear they might.

Siegfried Kubink

(Köln Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 December 1971)

Premier Heath awarded Hamburg's FVS prize

British Premier Edward Heath has been awarded the European statesmanship prize of the Hamburg Freiherr von Stein Foundation.

Awarded for the first time this year, the prize is similar in cash value to the Nobel Prize and this year's award is worth 300,000 Marks.

According to press conferences held simultaneously in London, Strasbourg and Hamburg on 7 December the award has been made in recognition of the Prime Minister's services in respect of British membership of the Common Market, European integration and the Continent's reputation in the world as a whole.

In summer 1969 Alfred C. Toepfer, a Hamburg grain merchant, informed the Nobel Prize committee in Stockholm of

DIE WELT

his intention of filling what he felt to be a gap in the Nobel Prize award categories.

In the first two years of the foundation, however, the governing body was unable to agree on a candidate deserving of a prize in recognition of his or her "outstanding and crucial contribution towards the political integration of Europe."

On 16 November 1971, though, the award committee unanimously agreed on Edward Heath as a prize-winner and Mr Heath was officially informed of the award by the Luxembourg ambassador in London. The chairman of the award committee is Josef Bech, a former Luxembourg Prime Minister.

The award is to be presented to Mr Heath in Strasbourg during the next session of the advisory assembly of the Council of Europe, probably at the end of January, it is announced in Hamburg.

Seventy-seven-year-old Alfred C. Toepfer, who has endowed both the Freiherr von Stein and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe foundations, hopes that political unification of Europe will have been brought about by the time that the European award has been made for the fifth time. Sufficient capital for the awards has certainly been made available.

The FVS foundation (the meaning of the abbreviation is not, strictly speaking, known) has been in existence for forty years and is responsible for the Shakespeare, the Justus von Liebig, the Hans Goethe and the 130,000-Mark Hertha prizes, the latter being awarded annually.

(Die Welt, 8 December 1971)

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■ OSTPOLITIK

CDU support for Warsaw and Moscow treaties essential

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The inability to shake off the ideological ballast of their own past was not the sole reason why West Germany's Social Democrats were isolated so long in Europe and always played second fiddle in elections to the West German Bundestag.

The main reason was the party's rejection of treaties concluded by Konrad Adenauer with the West. The CDU/CSU is running the same risk by rejecting the treaties Chancellor Willy Brandt has concluded with the East.

Gerhard Schröder, one of the most prudent politicians in the CDU/CSU, came out with the remarkable statement that the Opposition could not and would not burden itself with responsibility for the Moscow Treaty.

The phraseology is reminiscent of the period when the Social Democrats spoke the same language to fight Adenauer's policy of integration with the West because of the impediment this would pose to be for German reunification.

Herbert Wehner led the Social Democrats out of their self-imposed ghetto when he announced in the Bundestag on 30 June 1960 that the SPD accepted the fact that the system of European and Atlantic alliances of which the Federal Republic was also a member formed the basis and framework for all West German foreign and reunification policies.

Rainer Barzel, the Opposition leader, could start writing his Wehner-speech as

The idea of German unity is proving persistent. Though carried to its grave thousands of times already, it attains new life whenever there is even the smallest ray of hope.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's statements on the Moscow Treaty could not therefore fail to create a stir among the West German public.

Confusion is only to be expected when a Soviet government accepts German reunification as a future possibility after ascribing it for many years as the upshot of revisionist and revisionist thinking.

The vague language used here by Gromyko, contrary to his normal custom, helps to mislead the innocent and a person has to be naive to interpret Gromyko's statement as a change in Russia's position. What Gromyko has said conforms to previous Soviet policy.

Of course the Soviet Union, as her Foreign Minister hinted, could have raised the demand during negotiations with the Federal Republic that Bonn must not only give up all idea of reunification but also agree to a treaty expressly banning it.

There is a precedent. At Russia's prompting a ban on reunification but also agreement to a treaty expressly banning this but the Soviet government did not press the point in the Moscow Treaty as the present government in Bonn would not have accepted the demand and the Russians themselves do not want to side out German reunification for all time.

But this does not involve any change in Soviet policy. Gromyko himself hinted at this in his statement when he said that Bonn had its own ideas about reunification while the Soviet Union had others. It does not require much speculation to

soon as he returns from Moscow. He knows he is faced by this difficult task but he also knows that, with the Wehner speech in the back of his mind, he must first state and justify his party's opposition in public and in the Bundestag during the debate on ratification.

Only when the Moscow and Warsaw treaties are in force will he be able to make a speech which might contain the sentence that the CDU/CSU accepts the fact that the treaties with East and West form the basis and framework for all West German foreign and reunification policies.

If this is so plain and so little disputed today, it is only natural to ask whether such a complicated detour is necessary. CDU/CSU leaders believe it to be vital as only then can they preserve solidarity, escape responsibility for government policy and at the same time appear as a worthy partner for discussions.

These calculations - not so rare in politics as some people might think - will pay off if the treaties and the Berlin settlement are not endangered. Even Barzel and Strauss do not want to see the treaties endangered as this would burden them with even more responsibility and provide them with a shambles that they themselves would have to clear up.

Their arguments, especially in the Bundestag, will therefore be restricted to the aim of not losing too much credibility among their own supporters and not alienating potential voters too much.

The Opposition will find it harder to justify their resistance after the recent publication of Gromyko's interpretation of four points that long played a role in discussions of the Moscow Treaty.

Soviet statements show no departure from previous policies

The major powers are often described as waging wars through representatives. What the Soviet Union is doing in Germany can be described as security through representatives.

The most curious feature about Gromyko's statements is that they were published at the instigation of the West German government.

The coalition of Social and Free Democrats needed these official statements in order to be in a position to reject claims that it had come to accept German partition for all time. Otherwise the complaint to the Constitutional Court against the Moscow Treaty would have had more likelihood of being upheld than is now the case.

By prompting the Soviet government to issue statements of this kind, the government in Bonn unintentionally provided Russia with an alibi.

For those Germans who tend to attach greater store to the unity of their country than to anything else the Soviet Union is now in the same position as the Western powers who have often accepted the idea of reunification in the past.

The past majority of the German people will recognise the snag however. They have never been interested in reunification under Communist domination and they will not be in future either.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 December 1971)

Russia has no objection to reunification

The Soviet Union is not opposed to the voluntary unification of States, it is claimed in Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's accompanying statements to the Moscow Treaty. Gromyko first made this statement in his talks with West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel on 29 July 1970. The statement could be of considerable importance for a political unification of the Common Market countries as well as for the reunification of the Federal Republic and German Democratic Republic. The West German government believes that the Soviet Union would not rule out the reunification of the two German States.

Commenting on the recognition of frontiers, Andrei Gromyko said, "We made a concession to you in the frontier issue when we dropped the term recognition. That was a very complicated and painful process for us."

Article one of the Moscow Treaty signed on 12 August 1970 states that the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union base their views and actions on the actual situation in Europe.

Before the Moscow Treaty was concluded the Opposition accused the government of thereby recognising the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic.

Speaking about the alteration of frontiers, Gromyko said to Walter Scheel, "And now something to overcome your doubts. When two States voluntarily agree to unification or to the correction of frontiers as we ourselves have done with Norway, Afghanistan and several times with Poland or when States want to dissolve their joint frontiers and unite like Syria and Egypt - we would never think of criticising as this is an expression of sovereignty and is one of the inviolable rights of States and peoples. Anyone raising questions on this point sees problems where there are none."

Accordingly, the Moscow Treaty states that nobody should violate the present European frontiers. The Treaty rules out changes caused by non-peaceful means.

Foreign Minister Gromyko also made a statement on German reunification. "The third issue in which we have made you concessions is the possibility of German reunification in future," he stated. "Your position is plain and so is ours. We too have our own ideas of how future German unity should appear."

"We could have drawn up a treaty crushing all plans for German reunification," he added. "Then any mention of reunification would have been contrary to the treaty."

Government spokesman Rüdiger von Weichmar said Bonn saw the possibility of reunification in the statement that Moscow too had its own ideas on the future nature of German unification.

As Gromyko does not view reunification as contrary to the Moscow Treaty and has not crushed all plans to this end there is still a chance of reunification. In a letter to the Soviet Union the West German government stated that it still adhered to the aim of German unity.

Gromyko explained the claim to intervention in his talks with Scheel. "The second question of principle on which we have made concessions is the renunciation of force bearing in mind the United Nations Statute," he said. "We understand your interest in this question. History cannot be revoked and it is from history that one regulation of the United Nations statute resulted."

"But we have decided to conclude a with you a treaty renouncing force, that is to undertake the obligation and ratify it. In the text we have accepted stands the word 'exclusively' (by peaceful means)." Continued on page 4

NEW BOOKS

Benevolent view of Konrad Adenauer by British German expert

Delegates of already existing regional organisations that were later to form the Christian Democratic Union met for the first time in Herford, January 1946.

Terence Prittle reports that as many of the delegates did not know one another the chair remained vacant until Adenauer filled it with the remark that he should take over the running of things as he was the oldest delegate there. He never surrendered that position.

The British journalist and historian Terence Prittle, the remarkably well informed author of this biography of the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, described this scene after spending five chapters outlining the years of German history in which Adenauer was born and grew up.

His development is traced from the time he was a subject of the German Empire and covers his period as mayor of Cologne and president of the Prussian Council of State ("King of Cologne"). We learn how he lived in the shadow of the swastika and, after filling the vacant chair, began to lead both a new party and a new Germany, as Prittle puts it.

No new Germany arose, despite or perhaps because of Adenauer's willpower. The makeshift Federal Republic remained subject to the limits that Adenauer set until his departure from the leadership.

He wanted to be leader of his party and president of the Parliamentary Council, the forerunner of the Bundestag. He succeeded.

He wanted Bonn to be the capital of the rump German State represented by the Federal Republic. "Even in the event of the Russians no longer occupying Berlin, Berlin must not become the headquarters of the party," he once said. Another time he remarked, "I believe that the German capital should be in the south-west rather than in Berlin with its position far to the east."

He wanted a centre-right coalition and achieved this despite convincing arguments of his friends who wanted to avoid having only a narrow majority in the Bundestag and hoped that a broadly-based government would be welcomed more readily by the Western powers.

He wanted to be Chancellor despite his age of 73 and told his friends that his doctor had said his health would stand up to the obligations incumbent upon a Chancellor. He said that out of the blue, without having been asked to take over the position, though this did not prevent him from later claiming that he had been surprised by the proposal that he should become Chancellor.

German reunification

Continued from page 3
means). We do not envisage any exceptions.

"That is our answer to your discussions on the home front. I reiterate the word 'exclusively'. Do you think we our consider it to be a scrap of paper. It is more than that."

Accordingly, the Moscow Treaty states that disputes will be solved exclusively by peaceful means. Articles 107 and 53 of the United Nations Statute permit the victors of the Second World War to intervene in the affairs of the former enemy States.

According to the Moscow Treaty, the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union wish to base their relations on Article Two of the United Nations Charter which rules out the use or threat of force.

Klaus Bohnhof
(Neus Ruhr Zeitung, 14 December 1971)

He wanted arms to be in German hands and he wanted German military units. Here and in many other cases he had his way. The methods he used are described coolly, objectively and basically benevolently. They were often unusual, to say the least, and not always admissible.

Terence Prittle writes in his readable biography that about half the members of the first Cabinet had had little political experience but were good, hardworking administrators.

This was exactly to Adenauer's liking as he intended to impose his personal

Terence Prittle: Konrad Adenauer, German translation published by Gower Verlag, Frankfurt, pp 450 plus pp 31 notes, 28 Marks.

authority on everyone, a course that was doubtlessly necessary to keep the government together.

Adenauer had a well-drilled team around him. Prittle states that, all in all, his first Cabinet did him great service. It could even be described as too accommodating.

Prittle exemplifies this attitude of Cabinet members in the passage concerning the resignation of the then Minister of the Interior, Dr Gustav Heinemann, or in his description of the dangerous methods employed by Chancellor Adenauer to achieve rearmament. It was all very gratifying, Prittle comments, but in his haste Adenauer had forgotten to tell his Cabinet anything of his intentions.

Adenauer and his Foreign Minister, Heinrich von Brentano, once travelled in the same lift together in Paris. Brentano pressed the button and they arrived in the cellar instead of the floor they wanted. Prittle quotes someone who learnt of the event as saying, "That was the first and

last time that the Chancellor allowed Brentano to take the initiative."

Konrad Adenauer's person is described against the background of "four ages of German history", as the author subtitles his book.

Adenauer had a complex about Prussia, Prittle reports. "A Prussian is a Slav who has forgotten his grandfather was," he once said, "Germans are Belgians with megalomania," was also one of his sayings.

These two statements made to an American journalist were officially denied after publication. Prittle claims that the journalist complained to Adenauer only to be told, "Of course I said it. But I am now responsible for a whole country and you are only responsible for your type-writer."

The still incomprehensible attitude of Adenauer towards such people as the two Social Democrat officials Schroth and Scharley is not mentioned in the book although it was most strongly manifested during a public session of the Bundestag.

Terence Prittle has not stressed these events that mar the total picture of Konrad Adenauer. On the contrary, his description of the former Chancellor and his character is benevolently disposed in Adenauer's favour. At times the description reaches an invisible limit, certainly according to Prittle's conviction and thorough knowledge of his subject and out of respect and political (liberal) insight of the international context.

It is at moments like this that the effect of the book is strongest on the critical reader. Prittle, an expert on German affairs after his high on twenty years as West German correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, compares Adenauer's political decisions with the intentions of the allies. An example of this is his

Fifty years of German history

men such as Hugenberg, Neurath, Seldto and others.

Broszat begins his section by stating that the basic reason for the upsurge in the Hitler movement was not its totalitarian ideals but the economic and political crisis of 1929 and 1930 with the nationalist mass movement this caused in middle-class circles.

This opinion is shared by another Munich historian who turns to the subject of Hitler in another two-volume history - *Twentieth Century Politicians*. Deuerlein too believes that National Socialism was a conglomeration and not a unified system.

Deuerlein's article is one of the many biographies dealing with persons who helped forge twentieth century history whether in the "Age of World Wars" (volume one) or in the "Divided World" (volume two).

The main history-makers contained in the first volume are President Wilson, Lenin, Trotsky, Sun Yat-sen, Mussolini, Hitler, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill as well as men like Brand, Stresemann (this double chapter, also written by Deuerlein, is one of the best in the book), Atatürk (a rather dry description) and Masaryk (ideological slanted).

Volume two begins with a discriminating appreciation of Konrad Adenauer by Munich Professor Hans Maier who is now Bavarian Minister of Education.

A passage of his deserves quotation: "Only rarely did a historical impetus or a

European policy, another his efforts to improve Franco-West German relations for once and for all.

The chapter on a "Republic of the Rhine" (the author adds a question mark in the chapter heading) is written with scientific exactitude and will be read with particular attention.

Prittle believes that the events of that time had the most powerful effect on Konrad Adenauer's life. Adenauer's post-war policy concerning Germany always remained linked with his Rhineland plans involving the destruction of Prussia and the establishment of a strong Rhine state within the Federal Republic of Germany.

After 1945 Adenauer demanded a Rhine-Ruhr state that would be linked economically with France and Belgium but one that would only be possible within the framework of a federal state consisting of all parts of Germany with the exception of the Soviet zone of occupation.

Prittle believes that Adenauer had no sympathy with the people of East Germany, a clear statement from an author whose overall attitude towards his subject is so benevolent.

By providing NATO with a German military contingent, Adenauer unmistakably lined West Germany up with the other Western nations in the East-West conflict that would probably last a generation or longer.

Adenauer's policy concerning Germany did not achieve any advances on the road to reunification. Prittle quotes Franz Josef Strauss who said that Adenauer could only consolidate the Federal Republic.

Prittle mentions his sources in an extensive bibliography. There are over thirty pages of informative notes and a large index. But there is no mention of sources that did not contribute towards Adenauer's views. Prittle's judgments and opinions are all the more considerable.

The book is excitingly topical. Prittle has managed to carry out the historical role of elucidating a past age and its inhabitants and combining its problems with human ability and action.

Fritz Sanger
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 December 1971)

new epoch-making idea come from him. But all the higher is the estimation of Konrad Adenauer's performance as a statesman after the Second World War. State restoration and the diplomatic plans for a future when there would be joint policies for any free Europe, even though their effects remained temporarily limited and in Germany were always closely linked with the name of their originator."

The biographies of Gandhi, Nehru, Perón, Frei, Nkrumah, Lumumba, Castro

Deutsche Geschichte seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg (German history since the First World War). Edited by the Institute for Contemporary History. Published by the Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart. Volume 1, pp 844, 48 Marks.

Politiker des 20. Jahrhunderts (Twentieth century politicians). Two volumes. Deutscher Sonderausgabe. Edited by Rolf E. Hübner, Hans Maier and Paul-Ludwig Walther. Volume 1: pp 388, 18.80 Marks. Volume 2: pp 467, 24 Marks.

and Mao go far beyond the European horizons common up to 1940. The Nasser, Ben Gurion, Khrushchev, Kennedy and de Gaulle are also included.

But the life histories of the individual heads of state and heads of government are systematically classified according to their effects on contemporary history and the conditions under which they worked.

This result is a readable outline of fifty years of world history, including a prominent part of German history. The reader is able to gain his bearings because of the many points of crystallisation.

R. Bernhard
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 3 December 1971)

INTER GERMAN RELATIONS

What the Berlin transit agreement means for the traveller

On 11 December 1971, exactly one hundred days after the initialling of the Four-Power Berlin Agreement, the first international agreements between the Berlin Senate and the GDR government and between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic were initialled in East and West Berlin. At ten o'clock Ulrich Müller and Günther Kohrt met in the Golden Hall of Schöneberg Town Hall to initial agreements on an exchange of territory and on regulations enabling West Berliners to visit East Berlin and the German Democratic Republic. An hour later State Secretaries Egon Bahr and Michael Kohl met in the Ministerial Council building in East Berlin to initial the transit agreement between the Federal Republic and the GDR.

The first international agreements between the governments of the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic contain regulations for transit routes to and from Berlin and for visits by West Berliners to East Berlin and the GDR.

Under the new transit regulations the GDR authorities are no longer entitled to turn anyone back at the frontier. Former refugees from the GDR can use the transit routes without fear of arrest.

State Secretary Kohl stated that one exception to this rule applied to refugees who had committed a "serious crime on GDR territory apart from leaving the country". They will not be arrested but will be turned back or banned from using the transit routes for a certain period.

Expellees, government officials and politicians will no longer run any risk when using the transit routes to and from West Berlin.

Travellers to and from West Berlin will no longer be searched in future. Controls

Initialling' defined

The term "Initialling" means that the negotiations of the two sides sign with their initials every page of the text they are thrashed out and show that their texts are concluded.

This step is followed by the signing of the treaty by government plenipotentiaries (in the case of the Berlin Agreement the ambassadors of the Soviet Union, United States, Great Britain and France).

The treaty must then be approved - initialled - by the parliaments of the states involved (the four powers).

The Four Power Berlin Agreement will come into force on the day fixed in a Four Power Protocol that is to be concluded as soon as the measures anticipated in part two of the Four Power Agreement and its appendices are agreed. These measures were discussed in the negotiations between Bahr and Kohl and between Müller and Kohl and Müller and Kohl.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 11 December 1971)

border crossing points will take place while they sit in their cars.

A search will only be permitted when there is a reasonable suspicion that a person has abused the transit regulations by distributing written material, picking up persons, leaving the prescribed transit routes or violating traffic regulations.

Fines can then be imposed, material confiscated and persons can also be turned back or arrested. But the GDR

authorities are obliged to inform the West German authorities as soon as possible and give reasons for the arrest.

Normal border controls will be restricted to identifying persons by examining their personal documents. This will take place without the driver and other occupants having to leave their car.

Freight traffic will be officially sealed as far as this is possible. Only the seals and accompanying papers will be controlled. The GDR authorities can attach additional seals, though they need not.

No traveller on the transit routes will have to pay the usual fees after the agreement comes into force. Instead, Bonn is to pay a lump sum of 234.9 million Marks a year between 1972 and 1975.

The other important agreement deals with the regulations applying to West Berliners visiting East Berlin and the German Democratic Republic. In future they will be able to visit East Berlin or the GDR for a total of thirty days a year for humanitarian, family, religious, cultural or tourist reasons. Further visits are permitted in cases of sickness or death among relatives.

The agreement is a clear improvement compared with the regulations in force for West Germans. While West Germans are normally allowed to visit only close relatives in the GDR (excluding East Berlin), West Berliners will in future be permitted to visit the GDR for a variety of other reasons.

West Berliners can travel alone, take part on day excursions or trips requiring a longer stay and can book holidays in the GDR. West Berlin bus operators can be allowed into the GDR for day excursions and round trips.

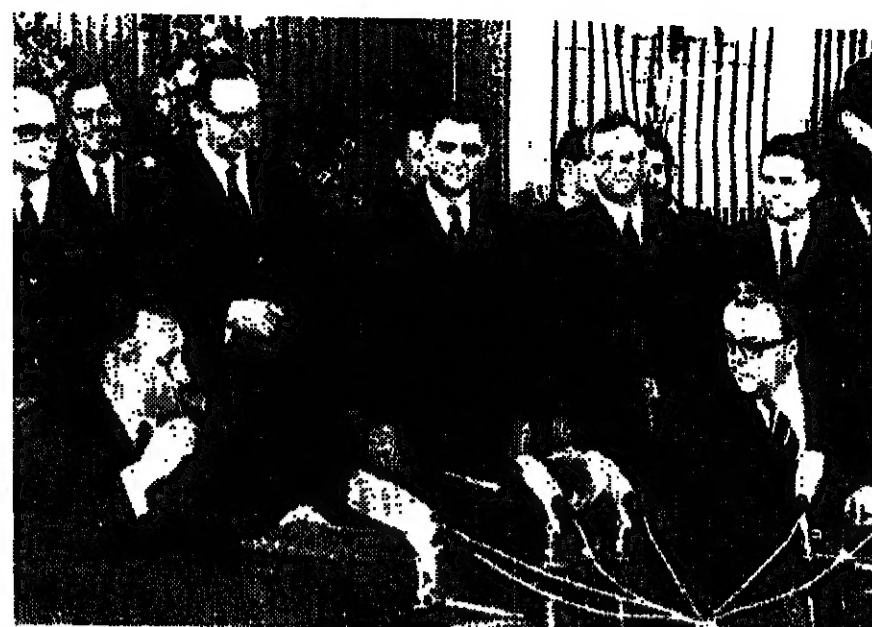
But unlike the West Germans, West Berliners may not visit East Berlin as many times as they like but are restricted to thirty days and have to obtain a permit issued by one of the five bureaus to be set up in West Berlin.

It is stated in a protocol to the agreement that written applications to visit East Berlin will be dealt with without delay and personal applications will be dealt with on the spot.

GDR State Secretary Kohrt has stated that, despite the new transit regulations, refugees who left the GDR "illegally" after 13 August 1961 will be excluded from visiting East Berlin and the GDR.



GDR State Secretary Günther Kohrt (left) and Ulrich Müller from the West Berlin city government initialling the inter-city agreement



State Secretary Egon Bahr (left) and the GDR's Michael Kohl initialling the new transit agreement between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. (Photos: dpa)

West Berliners who have committed crimes according to the laws of the German Democratic Republic will also be excluded from the new visiting regulations. If this is not discovered until after entry to East Berlin is to be by rail or underground. Eight crossing points are allowed as long as this crime was not a crime against life.

At least five Marks must be exchanged for one-day visits. Ten Marks per person

per day must be paid for a longer stay. A visa for a one-day visit will cost five Marks, or fifteen Marks for a longer stay. Friedrichstrasse station is to be used if entry into East Berlin is to be by rail or underground. Eight crossing points are available for pedestrians and seven for car-drivers, though this is only allowed in exceptional circumstances.

Anuarie Dohren
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 December 1971)

A Berlin view of the new agreements

The Inter-German agreements following the Four Power Berlin Agreement have practically been drafted in their final form now that the initialling has taken place.

They will be accepted by the three Western powers, the German Democratic Republic will certainly not agree to any improvements and policies in Bonn will continue to travel in the general direction of the ratification of the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland.

The fact that the agreements represent a considerable improvement over the present regulations cannot be taken as a yardstick. Transit between West Berlin and the Federal Republic may well be quicker, better and more secure when the agreed regulations on civilian transport come into force. West Berliners can now travel to East Berlin and the GDR once again. All this should not be underrated but it must be measured against the chances offered by the Four Power Agreement.

The truly unsatisfactory result of the agreement on visits by West Berliners to East Berlin alone makes the overall verdict worse. State Secretary Bahr managed to achieve more for the transit regulations than the Berlin Senate.

Transit routes are of course the most important factor in Berlin's existence. It will now be easier and quicker to travel between the Federal Republic and West Berlin but it will not be so secure as envisaged by the Four Power Agreement.

The most serious feature is that the GDR could not be moved to forgo their practice of issuing visas. The GDR's claim to sovereignty has been upheld, even though clearly restricted.

Another drawback is the term "abuse". Unfortunately we shall only see in practice what is meant by a "reasonable suspicion" enabling the authorities to search a motorist and turn him back or what is meant by "other crimes".

Another point is whether the GDR will make the situation more difficult some time in the future by changing laws affecting its internal security, as is accepted in the agreement.

Satisfactory? Acceptable? West Berliners may find things easier in future but their position will still not be enviable.

Kieler Nachrichten

If this yardstick is applied and consideration given to the price paid by the West - a scaling-down of the Federal presence, the establishment of a Russian consulate-general in West Berlin and agreement that the GDR should be admitted to the United Nations, amongst other concessions - it will be seen that the results of the Inter-German agreements are somewhere around the lower limits of what had been hoped for.

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Satisfactory? Acceptable? West Berliners may find things easier in future but their position will still not be enviable.

Renate Marbach
(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 December 1971)

■ THE STAGE

Too many actors are out of a job

Discontent within the theatre continues to increase. The Classics have been performed too often and fewer and fewer new plays are really convincing. Theatre managers, producers and star actors are tending to change jobs more frequently. Subsidies are being reduced. Actors too are unhappy. They fear for their jobs with the constant whirling of general managers and producers. Thirty thousand actors are already unemployed. Ursula Knebel examines the causes and effects of the theatre crisis in this article.

Actor Horst D. has a telephone complex. He rarely leaves the house any more but hovers over his telephone waiting for his agent to tell him he is hired.

Elisabeth S. is much in demand as a model. Her real profession is actress and she would like to return to the theatre. "But I just could not stand living two years in Ingolstadt and two years in Bielefeld at eight hundred Marks a month," she reports.

Jochen T. is considered to be a very good actor. Since leaving drama school he has always played the roles of young boys. He is now 34 and had gradually decided to turn to other parts. But wherever he applied, theatres only wished to engage him for his normal role.

He did not want to carry on like that whatever happened. He continued writing letters of application for some time but then gave up and left the stage to run his father's wine shop.

These are only three cases of unemployed actors, three cases in which the dream of a career ended in panic, resignation or bitterness.

Theatre people in this country do not like talking about their problems once they leave their little circle. But theatrical agencies, labour exchanges and welfare offices are well-informed. The number of actors currently unemployed is estimated to be at about the thirty thousand mark.

Dr Hess of the Frankfurt-based Central Bureau of the Stage, Cinema and Television Labour Agency believes that this estimate is too high. He believes there are between ten and fifteen thousand unemployed actors in the Federal Republic.

The exact figure cannot be determined as the central agency does not include all actors in its files. A number of private theatrical agencies work alongside it. Some actors are registered with a number of agencies, others are not registered at all.

The way an actor views his position is also important in this respect. Günther H. reports, "Something in me is broken when I no longer act and then I no longer act and then I no longer look upon myself as an actor."

On the other hand, as in any profession, there are a number of so-called actors who do nothing to deserve this description.

The problems of unemployed actors cannot be reduced to mere economics. Today acting does not necessarily mean economic security nor does unemployment mean economic misery.

Most of the actors working at the smaller theatres in this country are underpaid. Many actors unable to find acting jobs are engaged by radio or dubbing companies.

The most important reason for the glut of actors and the relatively small demand of the theatres is the disorganisation of drama tuition in the Federal Republic.

The large, recognised drama schools more than cover the demand for new actors. But there is also the large number of actors who have been trained or rather

exploited by small drama schools or private teachers and have little chance of finding a job.

The West German Stage Association is now conducting a survey among young actors to obtain accurate figures for the first time on the connections between courses of training and professional opportunities.

The survey should also give some information about the proportion of actors engaged by a theatre, those who fail to find a job and those who voluntarily leave the theatrical world.

It is the latter group that deserves particular attention. These are mainly young actors who prefer to choose another profession because they see no chance of implementing their artistic and social ideas under the present rigid system of rehearsals and performances.

The student and apprentice movements have also had an effect on drama students. Students already have some say at a number of drama schools. They themselves choose the syllabus and take over responsibility for lessons. Teachers have no more than a consultative function.

It is understandable that these young actors want to take over more than the partial function prescribed for them by the theatrical system.

It is understandable that they do not want merely to act but would also like to discuss why they are playing their parts and performing a certain play.

It is understandable that their working conditions are just as important as the results of their work. It is also understandable that they come into conflict with the patriarchal role of the producer during rehearsals.

"During my first few months at a theatre I thought my mind had been amputated," actor Wolfgang K. explains. He now only signs short-term contracts and from time to time takes a post outside the theatre so that he can use his brain again.

Like Wolfgang K. actress Barbara Sichtermann and actor Jens Johler also took steps of their own. In 1968 they sent the periodical *Theater Heute* (Theatre Today) an accurate analysis of the sources of conflict within the theatre.

Turning to the relationship between producer and actor, they wrote, "To carry out his ideas the producer needs actors. Actors also have drive, imagination and rational and emotional criticisms. As the producer suppresses these forces a priori because of his overwhelming position of power he has little chance of completely realising his plans by coming to terms with the reality of the actors. Even extremely intelligent and rational producers rarely attain anything of the sort because, though they may forgo the actual practice of power, they do represent it in essence."

Barbara Sichtermann and Jens Johler are now both social workers.

Industrial film prizes awarded

The German Industries Film Prize has just been awarded for the fourth time. According to the Federal Economic Affairs and Finance Ministry the films were divided up into five categories for assessment.

The categories ranged from "the economic and social setup in a democratic social welfare state" and "productivity of the West German economy" to "creation and preservation of a healthy environment in an industrialised society".

The Federal Labour Institute forecasts that people will no longer have a life-long position in future but would have to change their jobs two or three times during their career. The psychological effects of this on members of the artistic professions have scarcely been considered.

As in other professions, unemployment among actors poses more and more problems the older they are. Because of their personal situation it is normally impossible for them to leave a theatre when they no longer see any possibility of artistic development for themselves.

An actor with children of school age cannot up roots every two years and change theatres. An actor who recognises that he is merely parading his talents in routine fashion and not providing the artistic achievements expected of him no longer reacts spontaneously and does not enjoy his acting work.

Many elderly actors are in the same position as Peter Handke's Kaspar. As soon as they ponder over what they have learnt and how they use it they become insecure. There is then a discrepancy between the expected performance and the performance actually given.

Actors are not made any better by the fear of dismissal either. Between November and January theatres have to decide who to retain for the next season.

Regular theatre-goers can sense that decisions are being made on extending or not extending contracts from the quality of performances during this period.

Theatre doctors report the typical complaints affecting actors - nervous stomach disorders, insomnia, addiction to swallowing tablets and serious mental disorders leading to strain.

The frequent changes of theatre managers in recent seasons has had much less influence than expected on the labour market for actors. The Central Bureau states that the wave of dismissals and re-signings usually comes one to two years after a successful change of theatre manager. Most new theatre managers try to work together with the actors engaged before their term of office.

The rumours about Zadek's personnel policy in Bochum are also false. Former manager Schulla claimed at a press conference that Zadek would only retain seventeen of the ninety theatre employees.

The Bochum branch of Theatrical Association on the other hand states that 22 of the fifty actors resigned of their own accord, twelve were retained and sixteen did not have their contracts renewed.

An actor loses his artistic touch if he remains without an engagement for a number of years. That is why it becomes harder and harder for an actor to obtain a job as time passes since his last post.

On top of this, an interruption of any length normally means a change in the type of role played. When a young actress normally playing the role of innocent girls leaves the theatre for a few years and returns with the experiences gained as a wife or mother she is too old carry on with her old parts.

There will also be a break in her artistic career as her means of artistic expression will not have kept pace with her personal development.

Ursula Knechel
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 December 1971)



(Photo: Rosemarie Caspar)

Oskar Fritz Schuh ends U.S. tour

Szene 71, a German drama group founded by Professor Oskar Fritz Schuh, recently toured the United States with *Schiller's Kabale und Liebe* and the dramatic version of Kafka's *Prozess* by Jan Gismann. Taxpayers at Schweinfurt, the theatre's home base, helped to finance this venture which was moreover backed by the Gert von Gontard Foundation. Our correspondent Hans Sahl interviewed Professor Schuh in New York.

Die Welt: You have just ended a very successful tour of America with your ensemble of German actors. This was your first visit to the United States. May we be so unoriginal as to ask you for your impressions of the New World?

Schuh: First of all, I would like to surprise you by saying that for me America is the Old World and Europe the New. I have found things here that have long been unfashionable in Europe - politeness, fairness, tolerance, coexistence of differing groups, a readiness to recognise another person's achievement and a willingness to listen to others even when they are of a different opinion. The main thing that impressed me as a theatre man was that the theatre here still means something to the audience. It reminds me of the twenties in Berlin and the end of the twenties in Europe.

Welt: Do you mean to say that theatre still has a social function here? We always hear the contrary. The young reject the commercial theatre and seek new forms in order to bridge the gap between actors and audience. On the other hand the best actors in the world still appear on Broadway and theatre is always sold out despite the high prices of tickets.

Schuh: I took a good look at the people who go to the theatre here. They are mainly doctors, lawyers, businessmen and other members of the educated middle classes. They are willing to pay twelve of fifteen dollars for a seat and the theatres are then obliged to offer them something for their money. Even if my person does not like the play for some particular reason, he will find that the acting or the production was worth seeing. Take the Rock musical *Jenny Holm*. In Germany they would have taken it as a Biblical subject and staged it with subtle scenic tricks that surprised me. Even if that mass culture in America is of a much higher standard than with us, even mediocre Hollywood film often has striking technical precision, it can never be a complete failure because there is always something to admire about it. The German have only taken over the bad things from the Americans. Look at the large

Continued on page 7

■ CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Defence Minister Helmut Schmidt plans to bring the arts to the armed forces

Pictorial art must not be just a thing for private patrons or public galleries," Helmut Schmidt, the Bonn Defence Minister, said back in January of this year and as usual he has not been slow in putting his ideas into action.

He was only too keen to take advantage of the offer made by the gallery *Der Turm* in Wachtberg-Willip, near to Bonn, making himself into a patron and his Bundeswehr barracks into a kind of alibi of a gallery, although not a public one.

At the moment Helmut Schmidt is away from the damp autumn air of Bonn in the more clement climes of Japan, Australia and New Zealand, but in the meantime his young State Secretary Herr Wezel has opened the travelling exhibition *Kunst in Kasernen* (art in the barracks).

In the mess at the Bonn Defence Ministry about one hundred items of sketches, pictures, sculptures and objects have been brought together by the director of the gallery.

Helmut Schmidt himself is a practising participant in the arts, being an organ player and he will be able to take pleasure in the items in exhibition since they will be remaining on show at the Hardthöhe until 15 December.

"Kunst in Kasernen" has been designed as a travelling exhibition. At the opening recently almost all of the eighteen artists whose work was on show were of necessity there by the side of their creations to give visitors information, but then the works are on exhibition at barracks military personnel will be given the background information they require by means of films and a highly informative catalogue.

It has not yet been decided when and where members of the Bundeswehr will be confronted with these works of modern art.

Up till now there has hardly been any censorship imposed by the Defence Ministry. But so that the idea, which was first mooted roughly one year ago should not be dead and buried almost before it had been conceived and the first few timorous soundings, it was wisely decided to impose a kind of self-censorship. Obviously the Ministry made it general.

Continued from page 6

number of first-class magazines and periodicals that you can buy here at any price, and the films that you can see, the concerts and so forth. No, America is completely different to what I had imagined.

Welt: To get back to your own work, what are your plans?

Schuh: Apart from my obligations as director, I would like to continue my work abroad with *Szene 71*. I want to go on tour not with stars but with an ensemble and with the minimum of stage machinery. In the two productions you saw I tried to form a style of my own and the need for economy that was forced upon me. We were not allowed to take more than a thousand kilograms of props and personal luggage. Every kilogram counted. We spent a long time wondering whether we could do without a sewing machine needed for *Der Prozess*.

In my case being a producer entails coming down and not building up. What I am is a travelling theatre with little luggage but no less important for all that.

Hans Sahl
(Die Welt, 27 November 1971)

Hannover the Allgemeine

ly but unofficially known that it would be wise to avoid controversial political subjects as far as possible.

This outside observation and the insight of those on the inside were agreeably compatible. One victim of this self-censorship was the object of the Karlsruhe studio Bast-Martin, a chest full of weapons marked "Bundeswehr" which when opened was found to contain cut up corpses made of foam plastic. The panel of art experts vetting exhibits gave this the thumbs-down.

Needless to say a work of this kind would have been greeted with great scepticism in Bundeswehr circles. Now there is little to get in the way of a complete schedule of events and even less artistically inclined commanders than Helmut Schmidt should be prepared to do all they can to awaken the artistic awareness of their soldiers.

Herr von Hassell, a gallery director, who helped initiate the art in the forces scheme looks at the future with great optimism. Bureaucratic bother seems to be over and done with and ten months from the Minister's approval to the realisation of the plans to considered a relatively short time in the circumstances.

At the moment Herr von Hassell and the artists' main worry is the security precautions imposed by the Ministry. Outsiders who are keen to visit the show are reminded that they should not forget

to bring their personal identity papers along. The alternative could be "a devil of a lot of bother". But Herr von Hassell is far less worried that the troops will prove to be impervious to these works of art. Last June the gallery directors carried out a trial run in Rheinbach. Members of a uniformed auxiliary force who were roped in to help in hanging the pictures, it was noted, showed great curiosity in the works. And at the mess on the Hardthöhe where sculptures and objects had to be placed on their books and pedestals interest was shown in the works. But the organisers of the exhibition are not only thrilled that they have succeeded in breaking new ground that has been left untouched by the regular galleries. They are also proud of their catalogue and the overall picture of the works that this gives.

The catalogue was designed with the assistance of art expert Professor Justus Müller-Hofstede, who also gave the opening speech. It gives a good overall guide to trends in Modern Art, new styles, in-

fluences and links, but all in a slightly simplified form. The total printing of the catalogue is 10,000. It explains why this project has been started. Why exactly should conscripts be particularly good subjects for art appreciation courses? Answer: In barracks there are no predominant colours. Everything is in scrubbing-brush-white, olive green and khaki.

Sten Martenson
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 December 1971)

Cultural events at the Olympics

Ceylon, Indonesia, Thailand, Africa, Mexico, Jamaica, Trinidad, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina.

In addition a local folklore programme, under the title *Vita Bavaria* is planned.

Firm acceptances have been received to invitations to many famous orchestras: the USSR State Symphony Orchestra, the Vienna Philharmonic, the Berlin Philharmonic, the NHK Symphony Orchestra, Tokyo, the Bayerischer Rundfunk Symphony Orchestra, the Munich Philharmonic, the Bavarian State Orchestra, the Munich Chamber Orchestra, the Philharmonic Choir Berlin with the Berlin Symphony Orchestra and Munich Soloists, the Munich Bach Choir and members of the Schleierhof-Schlossmusik, and negotiations are still going on with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. The Dresden State Choir has also been invited.

In connection with the Olympic Games there will be a festival "New Trends in Music", an international jazz festival, a world congress of "jeunesse musicale" as well as a programme of variety (Olympic Gala 1972) with international stars.

Several well-known West German publishing houses will be bringing out special books in connection with the Olympic Organising Committee and there will be a literary exhibition.

The West German film industry plans to set up a film studio in the Olympic Village. Famous directors from all over the world have been invited in order to make shorts about sport in general and the Olympics in particular. These will be

run together as a film record of the 1972 games.

Modern art will also be given its fair share of the limelight on Olympic soil. At five different settings on the banks of the Olympic lake there will be a wide-ranging programme under the heading *Spielstrasse* (lit: play street). The centre of the *Spielstrasse* will be a theatre capable of accommodating an audience of 3,000.

This construction, which is reminiscent of an amphitheatre opens out on to the lake. On the surface of the water there is a large pontoon bridge with a moving platform. To the sides of this there will be numerous small stages and lighting towers. The theatre is intended for use with the more ambitious *Spielstrasse* productions, particularly the multi-media project by the Czech director Pavel Blumenfeld.

Opposite the theatre on a peninsula of stalls is being built for events that require less space, such as comic theatre and puppetry as well as pantomimes, acrobatic acts, clowns and impersonators.

Along the south bank there will be show terraces for beat groups and other bands. Above these terraces there will be a network of wires, speakers and other acoustic equipment to bring sound to people's ears.

The eyes have it too! There will be various projections to keep the eyes busy and even seductive smells available at the push of a button.

The other great attraction on the Olympic road will be a multi-vision centre with outside screens reaching out across the surface of the water. Special films will be shown.

In between the areas where the main attractions are situated there will be about eighty small stages with something going on at the time to bridge the gap.

Klaus Weichter
(Handelsblatt, 7 December 1971)

Bast-Martin Studio's *Schöne amputierte Welt*

(Photo: Katalog)

■ EDUCATION

Revealing complaints from small, powerless minority - very young children



You should be allowed to do more," complained nine-year-old Florian from Hattersheim near Frankfurt, a wish expressed frequently in the hours of conversation between Munich writer Monika Sperr and 152 children of various backgrounds living in places as far apart as Sylt and Weilheim.

The talks were taped, reduced to book form - the finished product has been published as a Kindler Paperback - and have now been discussed by Munich's Comma Club.

The six to sixteen-year-olds bluntly told the writer what they thought of their parents. The excerpts which the authors read were from beginning to end an indictment of a society that still had a hierarchic structure: father - mother - child, despite flashes of humour that shone through.

It was the complaint of a large oppressed minority of people who are too small, unaware or weak to kick against the pricks like other groups.

"What must I do?" asked ten-year-old Dieter from Munich. "I sometimes scream loudly but no one can hear me. And then I have to do as they say."

But a process of solidarity amongst children is starting to make itself felt. Exactly 120 of the 152 children inter-

viewed said that they played with children whether their parents liked them or not. Class differences are not recognised. But that is one of the few taboos children can break. Usually they can only resign themselves to their situation. "Actually you can never do anything," eleven-year-old Friedrich of Hamburg said. Perhaps I shall run away to Australia or somewhere."

Punishment followed close on the heels of prohibition. Only seventeen of the children interviewed were not beaten by their parents. Only fourteen of them accepted the idea of punishment, none of them found it any use.

"All right," one of the children told Monika Sperr, "I accept the punishment and when I'm left alone afterwards I get really angry about my parents."

A beating causes less fear or anger than a method of discipline commonly used today - stopping children from watching television. Television indeed causes a lot of anger within the family. "Our parents always decide what channel we see," the children complain.

The writer, the wife of Munich playwright Martin Sperr, found many answers confirming the fact that the Federal Republic was a country hostile to children.

"When I go on a nice bicycle ride I have to ride around on the farm. And there are always people at the farm who have got something against it," one child reports.

Another child complains about going to church: "You cannot say a word and

that's no fun. God also used to be noisy from time to time."

Children cannot be expected to understand the reason for such authoritarian patterns of behaviour. "Everything has to be done in a certain way," they complain. "But why must everything be done in a certain way?"

Although our children are said to be better off now than ever before almost all of them would like to be adult. Six-year-old Caroline from Berlin reports, "I don't want to be a child because you have to learn so much and you can't do what you want your money and you are always told off. When you're big you can do what you want. When I'm big, I'll be my own boss."

When these children grow up they plan to bring up their sons and daughters in quite a different way. They will not use violence for instance.

"Hitting a child is no use," they say. "If you talk sensibly with a child about what he has done he will try to stop doing it."

Their style of life will also be different. "I don't want to be like all these stupid adults who always sit at home watching television and only go out to work and who read this bloody awful *Bild-Zeitung* and all that rubbish," said sixteen-year-old Christa, the daughter of a Hamburg captain.

The discussion of these statements in the Comma Club soon reached ideological depths of course. These home truths out of the mouths of babes and sucklings were the inevitable answers to the undemocratic behaviour of parents who were all too ready to shelter behind the institutionalised power of schools and churches, a spokesman of the Education and Science Trade Union claimed.

He quoted from a letter written to parents by Bavarian Education Minister Hans Maier stating that the schools would ensure the necessary degree of order.

Karl Stankiewicz

(Kliner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 December 1971)

Extra tuition for foreign children

The Pestalozzi Association established 23 years ago by the Ruhr mining industry now plans to turn its attention to the children of foreign workers in Ruhr pits.

The Association recently announced that between seventy and one hundred children in Gelsenkirchen would receive additional language tuition in the initial trial scheme. More than twenty thousand foreign workers are employed in Ruhr pits.

It has been estimated that more than half these workers have brought their children to this country so that somewhere between three and four thousand foreign children of school age are living in the Ruhr area, leading to considerable linguistic difficulties in German schools.

Educationalists are convinced that the intelligence of the mostly Turkish and Yugoslav children is comparable with that of local children. This is shown by their good performance in arithmetic. It was only in subjects dependent on language that the difficulties cropped up.

The language barrier also prevents communication between foreign children and their new environment, the Association stated.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 24 November 1971)

Teacher conducts survey among schoolgirls

A survey was recently conducted among 1,631 girls at vocational college, 250 at advanced vocational colleges and 552 at secondary schools to find out what worries young girls have.

All were confronted with the same problems. The young girls were given 306 statements or questions and they had to say whether the problems touched upon affected them greatly, frequently, a little or not at all.

Examples of these statements and questions were "How great are my abilities in actual fact?" or "Is it really worth being honest?" or "I'm concerned about my parent's worries" or "I'm afraid of the next war" or "I often feel lonely" and "I would like to know how to prepare myself for marriage and bringing up a family".

Some of the results were surprising and often did not conform with the ideas prompted by the outward appearance of the younger generation.

Fourteen and fifteen-year-old girls were most affected by problems. Girls of this age obviously go through a crisis in the development. As they grow older the difficulties subside. Their seventeenth year is a year of calm.

A survey conducted five years ago showed that male students at vocational colleges faced the greatest strain at sixteen. Working girls are obviously a year ahead working males in the type of difficulties they have and the way they solve them.

Maria Coppes, a teacher in a vocational college in Cologne and the organizer of this latest survey, believes that the discrepancy could easily as well be the result of the five-year gap between the two surveys.

Boys and girls understandably enough have differing problems. But both sexes find that most of their problems concern school grades, examinations, military service, war and the preparation for future work.

Both sexes came out with such statements as "I would like to know how to improve my school performance" and "We young people are often unfairly criticised".

A girl's major difficulties affect herself and her social relationships. A boy's difficulties are more material and concerned with the outside world.

Girls appear to be more concerned with themselves and their future marriage. Boys are more interested than girls in their future career, in earning money, and in sport. Girls are more likely to be concerned with religious and ideological subjects.

A similar survey conducted among fourteen-year-old boys at vocational schools and the equivalent age group at secondary school showed that the vocational school students faced greater strain in almost all sectors of life.

The survey organisers explained, "The higher degree of strain must be understood solely as the effect of the situation on the factory floor to which these young apprentices are subject."

But might not entry into the world of labour also be expected to make more problems and difficulties of secondary importance?

To obtain some clarity on this issue, Maria Coppes compared the results for working girls with those obtained among girls at secondary school whose problems are normally more intensive.

In fact a graph could be drawn up showing that the strain felt by elementary schoolgirls is less than that of girls at

Continued on page 8

■ MEDICINE

Doctors fight retinal cancer with concentrated light

Concentrated light rays are now being used successfully to treat and in many cases to cure a particularly malignant type of eye tumour affecting only babies and small children.

Professor Meyer-Schwickerath, the head of Essen University Eye Clinic, and ophthalmologist Dr Höppling announced this important new discovery to a recent congress of medical journalists.

The cancer tumour, or retinoblastoma, to give it its medical designation, develops on the retina and cannot therefore be diagnosed during its initial stages.

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As the complaint can start a few months or even weeks after a child is born - the maximum period is six years - parents often do not notice the beginnings of sight deficiency.

Even when this cancer of the retina does not develop until the child has passed through the baby stage, subjective symptoms can still be lacking as long as the tumour does not extend into the optical axis and impair sight.

But children often fail to recognise this impediment too at first as the second, healthy eye compensates the defective field of vision of the sick eye.

It is a different situation when both retinas are affected though this occurs only in a third of all cases. Then the sick child will be seen to have difficulties of orientation.

Another symptom pointing to this complaint is a sudden bright reflex when light strikes the pupil, looking much like the eyes of a cat in the dark. If parents observe this amaurotic condition in their child this is a danger signal.

Cancer of the retina in babies and small children is particularly dangerous because metastases are formed at a very early stage in other organs and tissues, especially in the bone tissue. Treatment is hopeless by this stage.

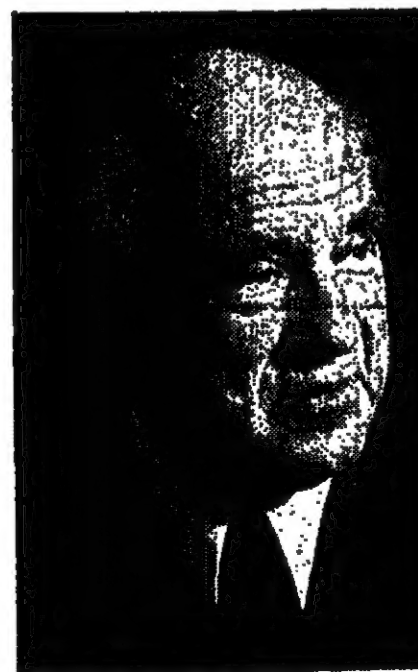
Like almost any other type of cancer, cancer of the retina must be diagnosed as soon as possible if there are to be any chances of recovery. Professor Meyer-Schwickerath said that if diagnosis was early the affected eye could be saved along with the life of the child.

Up to a few years ago any child suffering from cancer of the retina had to have the whole eye removed even though large sections of the retina still allowed normal sight.

Gerhard Welse

(Kliner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 November 1971)

Werner Heisenberg celebrates seventieth birthday



(Photo: Liselotte Stelow)

Conditions of the Scientific and Technological World.

It is no coincidence that Heisenberg was one of the eighteen physicists from Göttingen who publicly warned against a

It was technically impossible to remove the affected part of the retina while leaving the rest of the eye intact. Now however the malignant tumour can be cut off from the blood supply by concentrated light and thus "starved".

When using concentrated light, doctors take advantage of the optical characteristics of the lens. High temperatures are created on the retina and the tissue protein is "boiled". A detached retina can also be repaired in this way. Laser beams have recently been used in this type of operation.

Doctors thought of using this technical principle to destroy cancer of the retina in its early stages of development. But experiments showed that this was not always successful.

Ophthalmologists at Essen therefore decided on a different course and prescribed a ring-shaped burning zone

around the tumour - clearly recognisable under an ophthalmoscope - in order to cut it off from its supply of blood and other necessary substances.

This course was successful. The cancer cells died off and the tumour turned into a scar on the retina causing no serious loss of vision as long as the other eye was still intact.

But patients have to be checked regularly until they are six and they must undergo complicated examinations under anaesthetic as there is a great danger with inherited cancers of the retina that the other eye too could be affected.

A pamphlet issued by the Essen Eye Clinic calls on all parents coming from families with cases of retinal cancer to bring their children along for an ophthalmic examination during the first few weeks of their life and at regular intervals until they are six years old.

"Unfortunately," Professor Meyer-Schwickerath reports, "many paediatricians and even ophthalmologists do not know that susceptibility to retinal cancer can be inherited."

Christoph Wolff

(Die Welt, 30 November 1971)

Hospital situation has improved

The results of a recent survey of the medical professions conducted by the Federal Statistics Bureau reveal that Lower Saxony, with a doctor for every 743 inhabitants, has the lowest proportion of doctors next to the Rhineland Palatinate.

West Berlin, with a doctor for every 363 inhabitants in 1970, had the greatest proportion. The doctor position in Hamburg was equally as good. Rhineland Palatinate was in last place with one doctor for every 756 inhabitants.

The 1970 figure for the Federal Republic as a whole was one doctor to 621 inhabitants. The comparative figure for 1960 shows that there was one doctor for every seven hundred or so inhabitants.

At the end of 1970 there were 99,654 doctors in the Federal Republic, a rise of six per cent over 1969. But house-to-house medical care has not improved. While the number of doctors employed in hospitals increased by seventy per cent in the last ten years and by fourteen per cent in 1970 alone, the 50,731 general practitioners registered in 1970 are not many more than the number ten years ago.

The Federal Statistics Bureau has calculated that a general practitioner had an average of 2,332 potential patients in 1970. This figure is 474 more than the figure.

The proportion of self-employed specialists on the other hand has improved. There was one specialist for every 2,519 inhabitants in 1970 compared with one for every 2,905 in 1960.

The medical service offered by hospitals has also improved. In 1960 there was one full-time hospital doctor for every 2,480 inhabitants. In 1970 there was one for every 1,600.

The Federal Statistics Bureau also registers a general trend for medical care to be transferred from general practitioners to hospitals. Within the last ten years the proportion of people admitted to hospital for treatment has risen by fifteen per cent.

The number of dentists in the Federal Republic may not have dropped in 1970 but as the figure of 31,175 dentists remained practically constant while the population figures rose, dental services deteriorated.

While a practising dentist had to take care of an average of 1,963 inhabitants in 1969, this figure had risen to 1,984 by 1970.

The proportion of dentists in the Federal Republic may still lie above the World Health Organisation's specification of one dentist per two thousand inhabitants but there are grounds for concern over future developments, the Statistics Bureau claims. Since 1965 the proportion of dentists has sunk by six per cent. Compared with the 1960 figure there has been a decrease of sixteen per cent.

(Neue Hanoversche Presse, 9 December 1971)

Leg operation

New surgical techniques to make short legs longer have been developed by Heinz Wagner, the head physician at the Wichernhaus Orthopaedic Clinic in Altdorf near Nuremberg.

This method, now revealed to the public at large in the latest issue of the medical journal *Der Chirurg*, can correct leg damage that has resulted in a shortening of between two and eight inches.

Without an operation of this kind people handicapped in this way would have to wear the costly and conspicuous orthopaedic aids that also cause them serious mental strain.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 November 1971)

Robert Gerwin

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 December 1971)

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INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Chancellor Brandt intervenes in metalworkers' dispute

This year is coming to a turbulent end as far as economic policymaking is concerned. The strikes in the metalworking industry have reached a critical climax. The result of the meeting of the Group of Ten in Rome, far from clearing up the confused international currency situation only brought further complications to light, and a massive flood of hot dollars followed in its wake.

France and Italy had to seek refuge in drastic measures in order to protect themselves against the latest flood tide of dollars, which has been encouraged in the Federal Republic by the floating of the Mark. This floating, of course, continues to put an extra burden on our exporters, making their products much more expensive in foreign currencies.

Bonn Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Professor Karl Schiller in a recent speech to the Federal Association of Employers tried to spread a few comforting thoughts; he spoke of further lowering of Bank Rate and a further relaxation of the level of minimum required bank reserves.

He stressed that he was announcing this relaxation of the credit squeeze with the full blessing of the Bundesbank President Karl Klasen. But at a high level in the Bundesbank it is obvious that not everyone is agreed that it is reliable to influence the further development of the international parity of the Mark by means of adjusting the credit policy screws. This method is by no means guaranteed success in their opinion.

In the end the Bundesbank is powerless to do anything against the flood of hot dollars which came with the expectation that the Rome currency conference would lead to the devaluation of the American currency.

Defending the present exchange rate by buying up dollars is something that cannot be pursued ad infinitum. It is not

wise to spend thousands and millions of Marks to take care of vagrant dollars. This only leads to a further drop in the parity of the dollar and makes the Mark even more expensive.

The present rate of revaluation of the Mark since it was floated on 9 May this year is 12.6 per cent and it seems a foregone conclusion that if floating continues this will rise to thirteen per cent. But how much longer can the West German economy stand the strain of this? With the purchase of incoming dollars and their exchange for German Marks the circulation of money in our economy is inflated.

If currency policies are to be relaxed, some members of the Central Bank Committee say, why not by this method of supporting the dollar? It is necessary to await the findings of the recent Central Bank Committee meeting to find the answer to this.

In Bonn it is thought likely that they will go along with the Schillerian idea of relaxing the credit squeeze. The Economic Affairs and Finance Minister said recently that between now and the next meeting of the Group of Ten (17 December) "we will be going through a difficult phase of economic development".

But at the meeting of the Group of Ten in Washington it is virtually impossible for the great decision to bring about the end of the currency crisis to be taken. This has in the meantime become a decidedly political matter affecting not only rates of exchange but also the formulation of "comparative quotas" following the desperate plight into which the American currency has plunged.

This amounts to a division of the burden of United States deficits among the Western allies. This is the complex problem which will prove extremely difficult to clear up in the foreseeable future.

The basic uncertainty of the relationship between currencies has now been joined by the added disruptive factor of the wages dispute in the metalworking industries, which, together with car production which is also hit, forms one of the key industries in the Federal Republic. Both have been crippled by the dispute.

The special mediation procedure has not brought any success because of the firm stand taken by both sides. The last suggestion made by the President of the Mediation Commission was as follows:

An increase in pay scales of 7.5 per cent to be reviewed after one year and a thirteenth monthly payment of forty per cent of normal pay, to be brought within the scope of collective bargaining procedure.

The employers have not so far agreed to such a compromise. According to their calculations if they accept this suggestion it will mean a 12.8 per cent increase in their wages bill.

They say that apart from the basic 7.5 per cent increase and the collectively bargained forty-per-cent thirteenth month's salary, which itself would also be outstanding payments to be made from the previous round of wage-scale negotiations. These would put yet another two per cent on their production costs.

The sum total of this, a 12.8 per cent increase in expenditure on wages, is obviously something they feel they cannot approve.

It must be added that this business of the thirteenth month's pay of forty per cent would not in all cases amount to an actual pay rise, since at least a quarter of employers in North Baden and North Württemberg already give their workers payments of this kind.

Therefore this part of the agreement would not have any effect on production. Continued on page 11

Industry is not in such bad shape

Industry in West Germany is not going through quite such a bad patch as many people have been trying to make us believe for some time. In coming orders and industrial production in October not only maintained their level, according to the latest data, but have even gone through a favourable development.

The 5.5 per cent increase in productivity compared with the previous month marked something like a normal autumn boom. Even the production of capital investment goods has increased more markedly than is normal at this time of year.

And demand increased at the sort of rate that is expected in the autumn. The Economic Affairs Ministry is particularly pleased about the increase in incoming orders from abroad.

Whether the shock of the floating of the Mark and the American trade barriers has now been overcome, as Karl Schiller's Ministry claims, will only become clear in the course of the next few months.

One factor which does apparently have some say in the levelling off of the side of that there should soon be some sort of agreement about the re-alignment of currencies in the Western world.

If there are no further burdens placed on West German exports it is likely that by next year the state of the economy and industry will be back on the right lines.

What we must not overlook is that the growth rates mentioned above are based on prices as they stand at present. If the price rises of the past twelve months are left out of the calculations the level of orders is in fact two per cent down on the figure for October 1970 and the level of productivity is not really higher than at his time last year. In other words economic development is stagnant, only prices have risen.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 December 1971)

The question of annual wage negotiations analysed

Hopes and expectations that somebody in the Federal Chancellery will be able to slice through the Gordian Knot of wage conflicts in the metal industry have not yet been fulfilled. The forest fire is still spreading out from North Baden and North Württemberg and gathering speed.

About 200,000 workers in the motor industry are affected by production stoppages with nearly all production lines at a standstill or shortly to be stopped. The spare parts are not there.

Meantime a number of spare part suppliers outside the areas directly affected by the strikes have come out in sympathy with their colleagues. These include the largest manufacturer of carburetors with factories in Neuss and Berlin.

If the troubles in Baden-Württemberg are not cleared up with a satisfactory settlement soon, which would provide a basis for similar settlement in other areas there will be speedy process of escalation until the steel industry is dragged in, and that is an industry with enough worries of its own already.

One in seven workers in the Federal Republic is directly or indirectly attached to the motor industry. Vehicle building is the key industry in the Federal Republic economy.

Production losses can be calculated in terms of the Marks and Pfennigs involved allowing us to make conclusions about what has gone wrong where, both in private budgeting — just before Christmas as well — and in public spending.

At Daimler-Benz the daily production

loss is twenty million Marks, at BMW it is something approaching ten million. Volkswagen is losing as much as thirty million Marks-worth of production every day.

Opel and Ford are likely to chalk up similarly fearsome figures if their plants at Rüsselsheim, Bochum, Cologne and elsewhere fall prey.

When the whole Federal Republic motor industry is shut down the total loss of turnover daily is 205,000,000 Marks according to the industry's association. If advance payments to suppliers are taken into consideration as well the total damage is more like 450,000,000 Marks. Loss of earnings amounts to one hundred million Marks and the taxman has sixty million Marks fewer to rake off each day.

Unemployment insurances have to pay out six million Marks each day under the present conditions since a decision taken by their administrative council that they should step in and help every worker who is indirectly affected by a strike and lockout.

It is possible to query the individual details from which these figures have been assessed. What is undisputed is that the damage to the national economy is enormous.

Thus with ever-increasing urgency we

have to ask ourselves the question: what is the point of it all? Who benefits? And is this system whereby wages are reviewed every twelve months still realistic in the seventies.

Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Karl Schiller has warned the employers that what is going on is like a game of poker — colloquial language is rather more drastic in such situations — and he has warned both sides of industry not to carry their bluffing too far.

But employers and employees are both unwilling at the moment to take the responsibility for the outrageous demands being made and the just as outrageous concessions with which these are being answered.

The one side says that an increase of, say, ten per cent in wage bills will endanger job security, while the other side is calling for pay rises that will at least level off the degree of price rises in the past twelve months. That is to say eight per cent or more.

This side, the unions in other words, finds itself subjected to strong pressure from beneath. This pressure is coming from extremist elements, who are flexing their muscles and not without a degree of success.

But this does not explain why 10

Metal (the metalworkers union) in Stuttgart has rejected a call for mediation which it had accepted earlier on in Cologne.

The real reason for the firm stand taken by the employers, however, does not lie in the tug-of-war for percents but in the fact that for many industrialists there has been a combination of unpleasant circumstances, from the floating of the Mark to the demands at the latest SPD conference for higher taxes and contributions to capital growth schemes (for private persons).

The line must be drawn somewhere. On this score industrialists are in agreement with Professor Schiller. Chancellor Brandt has also had to issue a warning that the cow should be milked, not slaughtered.

North Rhine-Westphalia Prime Minister Heinz Kühn (SPD) said in a recent debate with members of his party from the left that the danger came not only from those who lived in the past, but also from those who lived for the future and neglected the present.

The art of finding the correct compromise is not something to be practised by politicians alone, but is the concern of this country as a whole, especially the two sides of industry.

The order of the day is: back to reality. This includes paying greater attention than previously to whether the annual wage agreement system is still appropriate or whether it is antiquated.

Ernst Berens

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 December 1971)

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Foreign workers are now more integrated into society

Joel Stiegel, President of the Federal Labour Institute in Nuremberg, is not prepared to listen to stories of an employment crisis in the Federal Republic at present. He is expecting that this winter there will "certainly be 200,000 out of work", but this figure includes those workers who have just given up their job anyway.

Whether the 2,200,000 foreign workers will prove to be a buffer against high unemployment of West Germans as was the case during the last recession in 1966/67 remains to be seen. But this is less likely. According to the Erlangen Institute for research into the labour market and jobs: "Today foreign workers are more integrated into our society than they were then."

Has this integration into society already taken place? The social position of the *Gastarbeiter* in the Federal Republic is protected by law of course, but they have not yet been given complete equality in our society and remain second-class citizens. Gerhard Ahl, head of administration at the Dortmund labour office, describes the problems of integration.

An investigation carried out by the Federal Labour Institute among foreign workers showed that many of them are staying longer in the Federal Republic than was at first expected. Fifty per cent have been in West Germany more than four years, twenty per cent even more than seven years.

And about twenty per cent of the *Gastarbeiter* here at present, especially those with a German wife, will presumably be staying permanently in the Federal Republic.

This trend is bolstered by the fact that more and more foreign workers are leading to bring their families over to join them. In addition to the 2.2 million *Gastarbeiter* there are about 1.2 million *Leiharbeiter* and dependents. Of these about 30,000 are children under the age of fifteen. In future it is likely that the number of foreign workers in this country will increase rather than decrease.

Continued from page 10

Thus the metal companies in the area affected would find themselves being an increase in their wages bills of between 9.5 and 12.8 per cent.

Shortly before the procedure of special mediation lapsed in Stuttgart Chancellor Brandt took the initiative and invited the two sides in the dispute to come to Bonn for separate talks.

Considering the extensive damage that would be done to the national economy by a stubborn perpetuation of this conflict it is essential that both parties be advised to show moderation, and so the Chancellor, it is believed, has suggested a compromise which goes some way towards correcting the suggestions made by the *Gastarbeiter* Commission, in that it fits in better with the requirements of the West German economy as a whole.

The increase in the wage bill which will remain when all objections have been removed will not be compatible with the present economic and currency state.

Those who say that the potential yield and the opportunities for profitable investment in our economy have not been reduced and the onset of recession is just an imaginary evil obviously do not understand the trends of our economic development.

By the turn of the year ensuring jobs would have been made the major task of our economic policies. An employment situation such as ours which depends to such a great extent on exports cannot put up with a simultaneous massive revaluation and continual rise in wage bills without being seriously affected.

After all it is wrong to throw in price increases as an argument in favour of the rise in wages when those price increases are a result of wage rises two years ago, which went far beyond the level of increased productivity.

The motto "First invest, then produce, then share out the proceeds" still holds or whether it is antiquated.

Walter Stotzsch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 December 1971)

been taken care of, the residence permit and work permit in other words, the alien is fully integrated according to labour laws. There is no purely legal difference between a foreign worker and a West German worker in this country.

That is to say the foreign worker is subject to collective bargaining agreements, rules for dismissal, protection measures at work, factory floor regulations, legislation to prevent exploitation of young people and mothers and the like.

According to Company Law only citizens of the Federal Republic are entitled to sit on a Works Council, the only exception being for people from another EEC country.

But it is possible for employers and a majority of the workers in a firm to waive this rule and this is a right of which more and more companies are taking advantage.

The Confederation of Federal Republic Trades Unions reports that about 400 foreign workers have so far been elected on to works councils. In companies with a large contingent of foreign workers there have even been foreign liaison workers appointed, who have voiced the interests of their fellow countrymen via the works councils. *JG Metall* alone counts 2,500 foreign liaison workers in its ranks.

Like their West German colleagues all foreign workers are from the first day insured against sickness — as are their relatives back home as long as these relatives are dependent on their earnings.

The Greek health insurance scheme IKA in Athens for instance receives an all-in sum for the welfare of relatives of Greeks working in the Federal Republic. This is to cover all doctors fees and the cost of treatment.

Like West German citizens too these foreign workers have the right to claim unemployment benefit if they lose their job. Thus no foreigner needs to quit this country if he is thrown out of work and he receives the full benefit of the work promotional legislations, for instance to find him a job and to give him professional and careers advice, to offer him further vocational training and re-training for new work.

Every foreign worker in the Federal Republic is entitled to a disability pension if he is invalided out of his job. Last year the contributions of foreign workers to the Federal Republic social security funds amounted to about 3,700 million Marks.

Their contributions have greatly helped to keep the pensions organisations afloat. These groups were struggling under an antiquated structure that was first created according to war needs. Of course the majority of these workers are in the youngest age brackets and therefore their pensions will be paid out at a time when the average age of the German people is no longer affected by war casualties and the whole system has recovered its equilibrium.

There is another reason why the contributions of foreign workers constitute a gain for those who have to support old-age pension schemes: a large number of foreign workers return home after a period of less than five years' work in this country and therefore has a claim to the contributions paid. But the sum paid by the employers is not repaid.

The payment of child allowances is also governed by the principle of equal rights for all, and not just those children of *Gastarbeiter* who are living in the Federal Republic.

Special agreements concluded with the Italian, Greek and Turkish governments allow for children remaining behind in the homeland to qualify for child allowances.

But despite all the legal protection that has been devised for foreign workers a number of problems remains for them. They require accommodation that can put themselves and their families up comfortably, their children require pro-

Foreign workers in West Germany

At the end of this summer there were about 2,200,000 *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) in the Federal Republic, of which 614,000 were women. The largest group came from Yugoslavia (21.4 per cent), followed by Italy with nineteen per cent, Turks 18.9 per cent and Greeks 12.5 per cent. On a national average one worker in eleven is a foreigner.

These are the cities with the largest groups of foreign workers:

Munich	132,000
Stuttgart	103,000
Frankfurt	92,000
Berlin	70,000
Cologne	60,000
Düsseldorf	50,000
Hanover	20,000

About forty per cent of all foreign workers (800,000) are in iron and metal production and processing, 24 per cent (490,000) in other processing plants. Seventeen per cent (340,000) are in the service industries and sixteen per cent (320,000) are in the building trade.

per schooling and vocational training, they do not always have equal career opportunities and they need to be given a far greater say in the running of the country.

The North Rhine-Westphalia Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Welfare questioned approximately 2,700 families from abroad living in the Federal Republic about conditions in which they were living.

The disturbing result of this survey was that forty per cent of their accommodation was without a kitchen, 64 per cent was without an indoor lavatory, thirteen per cent had no bath, WC and running water indoors. Nevertheless many of them are paying the same rent as they would for a flat of the same size.

The worse the accommodation, the more the rent in 54 per cent of cases.

Of the 500,000 children under sixteen belonging to *Gastarbeiter* most have been between four and ten years in this country, 120,000 of them are in the age group — where education is compulsory — but about 30,000 do not go to school. Only in two states, North Rhine-Westphalia and Baden-Württemberg are foreign children also obliged to go to school.

Of the 90,000 who do go to school the education they receive is in many cases only scratching the surface. Only one third of them gets past elementary education, whereas the figure for German children is eighty per cent.

The main reason for this is that there are insufficient foreign and German teachers to help the children make the transition between their own language and instruction in German. Many of the countries who send workers to this country are not doing enough to recruit the teachers required.

Only one in five of foreign workers who come to West Germany have a skill or other professional qualification and the value of their qualifications tends to be well below that of comparable work men in this country.

About thirty per cent of the workers who have come to this country — according to a survey conducted by the Federal Labour Office — have had to be given special training to make them into skilled workers.

This education has come generally not from sitting at a school desk, but on the factory floor. One of the main obstacles to giving *Gastarbeiter* adequate vocational training is the language barrier. Another is their lack of general schooling.

It is not easy to see how such a heterogeneous group can be given further assistance to fit into life in the Federal Republic. Local authorities and other organisations are studying this problem at the moment, and more and more attention is being given to it.

At the initiative of the Labour Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia a state advisory council for *Gastarbeiter* has been set up in Düsseldorf. This is designed to help "guest workers" fit in.

(Die Zeit, 10 December 1971)

TECHNOLOGY

Architects demonstrate the folly of letting cities go wild

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHER WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG
Industriekurrier

Architect Josef Lehmbruck and Wend Fischer recently opened an exhibition in Munich's Neue Sammlung which documents the decline of our cities.

"The man who pays no regard to the needs of his city is not a peaceable citizen but a bad one," Pericles proclaimed in Ancient Greece two and a half thousand years ago.

The general public can see for itself that the cities are in a bad way today, and it is not just a matter of empty municipal coffers, the increasing number of road deaths and levels of pollution that are fast assuming health hazard proportions.

Urban areas are also going to pieces as living communities, as environments in which it is possible to think in terms of one's home town.

The critics of this state of affairs include US economist John Kenneth Galbraith, who maintains that maximum profit has become the measure of all things.

They also include Munich's Social Democratic Chief Burgomaster Hans Jochen Vogel and Pope Paul VI, who can hardly be suspected of socialist leanings.

"The city allows new forms of exploitation and domination to evolve in which a number of people misuse the requirements of others for purposes of speculation and utilise them as a source of illicit gain."

This state of affairs prompted architects Josef Lehmbruck and Wend Fischer to design an exhibition in Munich's Neue Sammlung that documents both the causes and possible solutions to the problem.

The city's loss of function is due to three factors, it is claimed, the first being the sterile, repetitive conformity of post-war so-called social housing, the result of which has all too frequently been a contact-killing desert of indestructible concrete along the lines of the Neue Vahr estate in Bremen or the Märkisches Viertel in West Berlin.

The second factor is the gradual demise of the city centre, a development for which not only free enterprise but also the local authorities themselves deserve the blame.

Whatever justification is there for locating local authority facilities that are not consulted by the general public (the city auditor's office, for instance) in residential areas on the outskirts of the city centre?

Why, for that matter, should housing be demolished for the sake of bank and insurance head offices and the prestige of being able to build in a part of town in which the price of building land is sky-high?

In areas of this kind, such as Lehel, Munich, the advantages of a central location are more than offset by the financial benefit to be derived from a suburban location that is reached without much difficulty by public transport.

The third factor evinced by the organisers of the Munich exhibition is that town planners evidently still think in terms of a town geared to the requirements of motor vehicles rather than to those of the people who live in it.

One of the most impressive photos on exhibit is aerial view of Düsseldorf showing the surrounds of the stock exchange, the Martin-Luther-Kirche, the Schauspielhaus and Jan-Wellem-Platz. The

surface area of road by far exceeds that of such buildings as there are in the district.

Such destruction of the city and the communications it is intended to provide cannot be offset by the creation of a few pedestrian precincts surrounded by a road network so impassable from the point of view of the ordinary pedestrian that they become aching voids without a soul in sight almost as soon as the shops shut.

People do not meet people when for purposes of enlivening the precinct during the evening a theatre is built, either.

A city is a conglomerate of residential, commercial and public facilities and must remain so even at its vortex. The various age groups and social strata must come together.

This admixture goes by the board when whole areas are cleared of housing to make way for administrative buildings that are used for forty hours a week at most and could equally well be located almost anywhere.

In its place social ghettos are built, the inhabitants of which are virtually predetermined by the size of flats and the rent per square metre.

In a city that fulfils its natural functions all major facilities, shops and pubs must be within easy reach on foot, say within a quarter of an hour's walk.

On the basis of this concept the two architects responsible for the Munich exhibition have designed a new model



A model of a city-centre housing complex

(Photo: Katalog)

city combining residential areas with what they consider to be an up-to-date urbane atmosphere. The idea is to encourage debate and it is hoped that the general public will respond by voicing an opinion.

"In my view discussion of how we are to live in future is necessary but I do feel it to be even more necessary that we realise that our cities ought not to be subjected to an even greater degree of destruction here and now. There must be no more clearance of residential areas to make way for administrative palaces that gobble up entire districts and there must be no more autobahns slicing fully-fledged districts in two."

This is the considered opinion of Ralf Dantscher, a young Munich chaplain who aims to salvage what is left of the Marxvorstadt, his old parish between the city centre and Schwabing, from the pointless havoc wrought by university, bank and office construction.

"We feel a society in which it is possible systematically to expel people from their homes and to convert fully-fledged districts pulsating with life into administrative, banking and university ghettos to be neither liberal nor democratic, neither social nor Christian," comments Ernst Dohls.

(Handelsblatt, 10 December 1971)

Work on Elbe autobahn tunnel goes ahead on schedule

On the south bank of the Elbe on the western outskirts of Hamburg the final preparations are being made for what promises to be an exciting technological venture, the submersion of the first of eight sections of the Elbe autobahn tunnel.

Once the tunnel is complete it will be a major link in the E4, a European highway linking Stockholm in the north and Lisbon in the south. At the end of 1974 up to 65,000 vehicles a day will cross under the Elbe at a depth of eighteen metres (59 feet) and a speed of eighty kilometres an hour (fifty mph).

A nautical control panel, several command centres, harbour pilots, a signal ship, flares, radar and navigational radio, not to mention enormous miscellaneous technological expenditure, are needed to ensure that the gigantic tunnel section is firmly secured in its exact position on the riverbed.

The first section is 132 metres (433 ft)

long, 41.7 metres (137 ft) wide, 8.4 metres (27.5 ft) high, 46,000 metric tons in weight and will form part of the second-longest road tunnel in the world.

Its water displacement is equivalent to that of a fully-laden 17,000-ton freighter and for three or four of the hours it will take to lower it to the riverbed all shipping on the Elbe will be brought to a standstill.

This is the time it will take to tow the section into position with the aid of seven tugs. Submersion will take at least a further ten hours.

The project engineers reckon they will need more than a year to lower the other seven sections into position in the riverbed channel that has been specially dredged to hold them.

Once they are all in position interior work can get started down below. Traffic in the tunnel and its approaches is to be supervised with the aid of TV cameras, lights, interchangeable signs, mechanical

barriers and loudspeakers and the whole operation is to be masterminded by a computer.

But deadlines may well be thrown into disarray by storms or fog.

The first delay occurred a few weeks ago on the northern bank of the river where 1,100 metres of approach tunnel are being bored. Three enormous devices are ploughing their way underneath the steep banks of the river with a densely-populated residential area overhead.

Because of unexpected structural damage evidently due to tremors caused by the bore work earthmoving had prematurely to be reduced in tempo to hibernation tempo in order to allow residents to be evacuated from the houses that threatened to collapse under the strain.

Preparations for work on the tunnel proper have also been unusual. The eight sections were prefabricated in a gigantic dry dock over a period of three and a half years. The dock was then flooded.

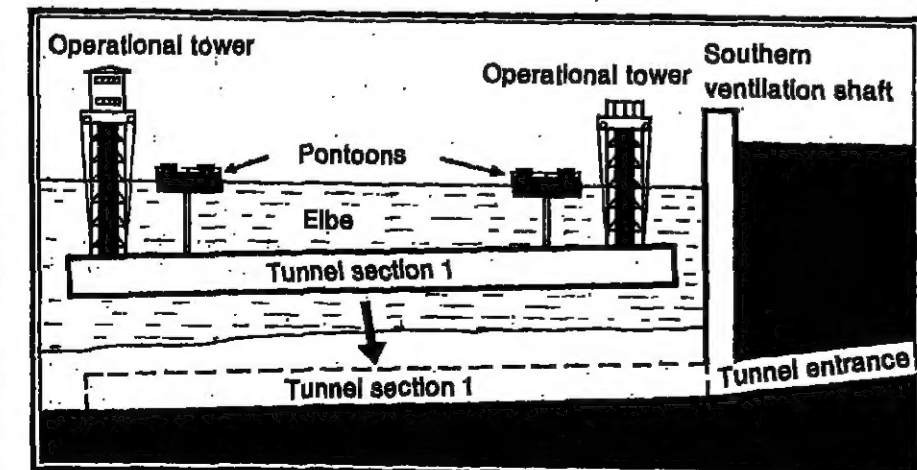
The sections on the bed of the dock were then pumped empty, tugged out, prepared for submersion and then dispatched to their final resting-place.

Dredging work on the riverbed channels displaced some two and a half million cubic metres (3.25 million cubic yards) of sand, enough to fill the entire Alster, the lake that forms the centre of the city of Hamburg.

The construction of the first Elbe tunnel in 1911, admired all over the world as a technological masterpiece, was also an underwater adventure. Over the past sixty years more than 500 million pedestrians and fifteen million motor vehicles have used the original tunnel.

The new tunnel, the eight sections of which boast a total length of 1,056 metres (more than five furlongs), is destined to make these figures appear diminutive. Hamburg is already talking of the construction work of the century.

Gert Kistenmacher
(Drawing: Theodor Schmitz)
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 December 1971)



COMPUTERS

Data processing congress in Munich

The ten thousandth computer used by industry, science, research and administration in this country is in the process of being taken into service according to the latest survey conducted by Diebold, indicating that electronic data processing continues to make rapid headway. In the first six months of 1971 a further 817 computers were installed, bringing the total number in service at the end of June to 9,200. The country's major concentrations of computers are in Frankfurt, Munich, Hamburg and Düsseldorf.

Computers began to make headway in economics and research, trade and administration, industry and politics a little over twenty years ago.

Currently more than 9,000 computers are in action in this country alone and according to Günter Leue of Frankfurt, speaking at System 71, this country's first data processing congress, held in Munich, we are still in the Stone Age of computerisation.

Many people lament that the use of computers is too expensive but this is less a question of the equipment being too costly than of the users making unreasonable use of their installations.

For a long period the size of a computer, for instance, was considered a symbol of a status symbol. Computer users are only slowly coming round to a point of mind that congress participants repeatedly described as "attaining their maturity" or, purely and simply, common sense.

Slowly but surely computer users are beginning to take a more critical view of the range, size, scope and other characteristics of electronic data processing equipment available.

Increasing attempts are also being made to put data processing to optimum use. In terms of equipment this can be taken to mean that the size of the central device is no longer felt to be the prime consideration.

At long last clients are beginning to realise that sideliners, data input and output equipment, for instance, are in the final analysis a more reliable criterion of the efficacy of a computer.

More particularly, smaller computers performing independent functions are now being put to use on the periphery of the mainstream of production or whatever, relieving the central computer of time-wasting minor calculations and making the more powerful device available for other tasks.

With the aid of a computer family of this kind, Professor Peter Lindemann of Sindelfingen commented, data processing systems of virtually any size and complexity, solve information problems in all sectors of life.

Technically, then, it can be done but at present the organisational prerequisites are so unsatisfactory that for the time being at least visions of what might be termed the monstrous regiment of computers are nightmares and nothing more. Many people derive considerable bene-

fit from automated electronic data processing even though they may not at first glance realise the fact.

In industry manpower can be replaced by self-regulating and self-controlled systems. Administration can to a large degree be simplified and automated. Computers lend medical men valuable assistance in diagnosis.

In education they can help to improve teaching and learning facilities and in politics provide the powers that be with improved data for planning purposes and decision-making. Graduated old-age pensions can be calculated more quickly.

In computer practice tasks that lend themselves to data processing are catalogued in functional groups such as personnel, finances and population. To a large extent integration of these various functions is what is needed to ensure that computer systems are in a position to supply meaningful aids to decision-making.

In Munich Dr Werner Jähmig of Cologne dealt with the consequences of this integration. There could, he said, be no telling at present whether or not integration might necessarily lead to changes in the traditional divisions of responsibility.

At all events, Dr Jähmig concluded, the integration of functional groups and employment of computer systems cannot fail to lead to a greater degree of cooperation between the Federal government, states and local authorities.

Increasing amounts of personal data are being put into computer storage. The resulting possibility of linking data on one individual stored in different places and summarising the whole gamut at will has given rise to a good deal of anxiety lest there be inroads made on the privacy of the individual.

There are, however, according to Dr Herbert Auenhammer, a Bonn Ministry

Computers in the Federal Republic

— number as of mid-year —

	1970	1971
IBM	3,895	4,848
Honeywell/Bull	865	1,030
Univac	589	650
Siemens/Zus	761	1,068
AEG-Telefunken	145	232
22 others	1,004	1,557
	7,259	9,188

official, quite a number of staff, organisational, technical and legal measures that can be undertaken to ensure that data is not made available to unauthorised persons.

Hesse passed legislation on the subject about a year ago and other states plan to follow suit. In order to forestall legal fragmentation a Federal data protection Bill is being drawn up in Bonn too.

This, however, as Dr Auenhammer pointed out, involves setting foot on virgin territory since there is next to no comparable legislation on the statute book by which to go.

And as only the beginnings of integrated interlinked computer systems as yet exist the detailed requirements are not indelibly clear. First and foremost, however, legislation must prevent abuse in the administrative sector.

On the other hand Federal legislation that is to be at all effective must also cover data protection in the private sector, particularly in industry.

Comparable protection of the individual must be ensured in both the public and private sectors, the special features of each having been taken into account.

New techniques not only create a danger; they also open up technical possibilities of countering these dangers.

Konrad Müller

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 December 1971)

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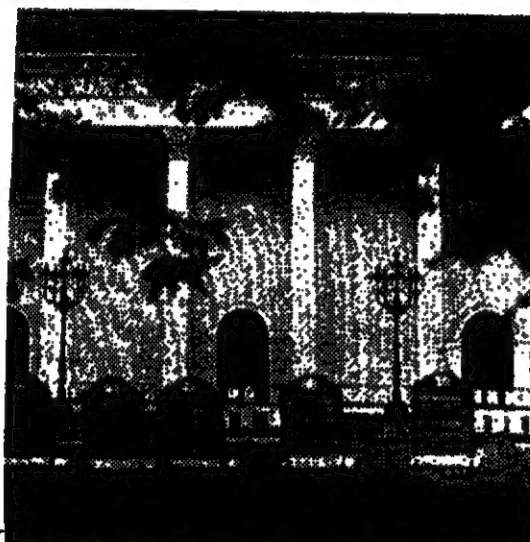


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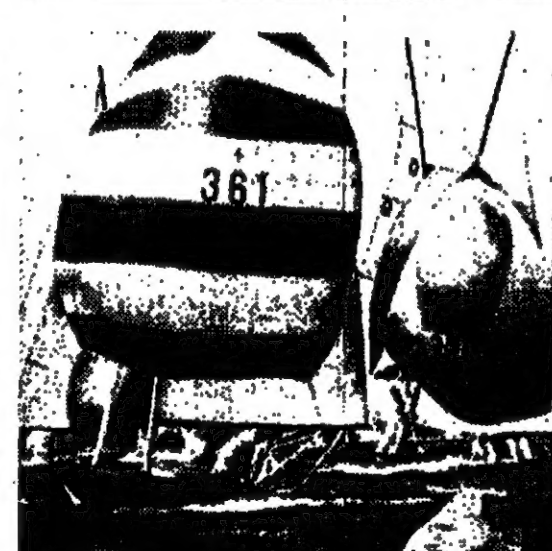


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